

APR 4 1966

U. S. News & World Report

BALANCE OF WORLD POWER— Where the U.S. Fits In

Facing harassment in Europe, mounting casualties in Asia, U. S. is under pressure to pull back toward isolation. What if it did? A look at today's power structure shows Russia would dominate in Europe, Red China in Asia. U. S., it appears, holds the balance.

In Europe, Gen. Charles de Gaulle of France is trying to force the United States out of that part of the world.

At home, in the U. S. Senate, some Senators are striving to get the U. S. out of Asia.

There seems to be a growing urge in the U. S. and in the outside world to return America to some kind of isolation.

Yet, statesmen are beginning to ask: What would be the situation in today's world without the vast power of the U. S. to help maintain a balance?

Hard facts help to explain why it is that this country is very unlikely to pull back in the foreseeable future, either from a key role in Europe or from a dominant role in Asia—and why Americans face a heavy defensive load for as far ahead as anyone now can foresee.

If U. S. is forced out— A glance at present-day Europe reveals the big problem that would be faced, if France should succeed in getting the U. S. out.

Without the U. S. committed, only one power of real consequence would remain on that continent—Soviet Russia.

Only Russia, among all the nations of Europe, possesses nuclear-armed missiles in quantity . . . or a modern air force of great strength for offense or defense . . . or a land army armed with tactical nuclear weapons and capable of waging modern war on its own . . . or a modern navy.

Britain's once-powerful navy is largely gone, its air force is no threat to Russia, its nuclear capability is extremely limited, its army more a police force.

West Germany possesses the largest land army in the West, but no nuclear arms of her own, no strategic air force, no navy of importance.

France, in turn, has an army of only limited capability, only the bare start

of a nuclear force, no navy to speak of, no air force of consequence.

It is the vast power of the United States that is credited with offsetting the power of Russia in Europe.

Buffer role of U. S. American power—contained in the world's largest force of long-range missiles, in a strategic air force second to none, in a navy armed with nuclear weapons, in an army with modern weapons—is the factor that any Russian leader, tempted by weakness in Western Europe, must consider.

Remove that power from the balance, or raise doubts about its use, and the temptation for Soviet Russia to think again in terms of aggression might be expected to grow.

The picture is much the same in Asia.

Red China, in that part of the world, is the dominant power today. And there is every prospect that China's power, in relation to that of her neighbors, will skyrocket in the years ahead.

Russia as barrier. Along the northern and western reaches of China, the Russians with their nuclear weapons stand as a barrier.

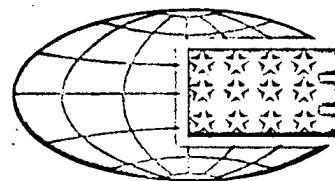
Elsewhere in Asia, if the U. S. is maneuvered out of that area, there is no single nation or combination of nations that possesses any military power of real importance. This is true in a part of the world where the Red Chinese appear to be in an aggressive and expansionist mood.

Japan today is only beginning to debate the subject of rearmament. The Japanese count upon the United States to provide their basic defense and to protect the Japanese trade routes.

India possesses tremendous manpower, but, until very recently, has followed a deliberate policy of neutralism and at

(continued on page 50)

Russia by itself is more than a match for any country in Western Europe—or all of them put together. Add the Soviet satellites to Russian power, and the Communist bloc has 40 million more people, 140 more combat divisions, a much larger air force and vastly more nuclear weapons than the European members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Only the U. S. can hold the balance of power on the Allied side.



Red China has almost as many people as all other Asian nations combined, and more military power. Japan has the potential for matching Communist China in military power, because it is so far ahead industrially and technically. But it would take some years to build up Japan's forces. Only the U. S.—or Russia—can keep the balance of power from shifting to Red China in Asia. As of now, U. S. power blocks Red China where it probes against weak neighbors.

IF U.S. PULLED OUT OF EUROPE — RUSSIA WOULD DOMINATE

	PEOPLE (mil.)	TOTAL OUTPUT OF GOODS, SERVICES (\$ bil.)	MEH UNDER ARMS (mil.)	COMBAT DIVISIONS	NAVAL STRENGTH	AIR POWER AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS (unofficial estimates)
Soviet Union	231	300	3.1	140	400 submarines 240 warships	11,500 planes, 270 long-range missiles, probably 5,000 or more nuclear weapons
Soviet satellites	102	75	1.1	63	22 warships	3,000 planes, no nuclear weapons
SOVIET-BLOC TOTAL	333	375	4.2	203	662 ships and submarines	14,500 planes, 270 long-range missiles, a big stockpile of "nukes"
France	49	93	.6	6	99 warships	800 planes, perhaps 20 to 50 atomic warheads
West Germany	57	111	.4	12	48 warships	650 planes, no nuclear weapons
Britain	55	98	.4	5	118 warships	700 planes, a small store of nuclear weapons
Other NATO members in Europe*	131	117	1.5	41	162 warships	1,300 planes, no nuclear weapons
NATO TOTAL WITHOUT U.S.	292	419	2.9	64	427 warships	3,450 planes, no long-range missiles, a small nuclear capability

*Belgium, Denmark, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Turkey.

Copyright © 1966, U.S. News & World Report, Inc

IF U.S. PULLED OUT OF ASIA — RED CHINA WOULD DOMINATE

	PEOPLE (mil.)	TOTAL OUTPUT OF GOODS, SERVICES (\$ bil.)	MEH UNDER ARMS (mil.)	COMBAT DIVISIONS	NAVAL STRENGTH	AIR POWER AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS (unofficial estimates)
RED CHINA	730	70	2.5	115	23 submarines 200 coastal craft	2,300 planes, no long-range missiles, fewer than a dozen atomic warheads
Japan	93	78	.2	13	47 warships	170 planes, no nuclear weapons
India	483	40	.9	16	19 warships	380 planes, no "nukes"
Pakistan	102	9	.2	6	16 warships	200 planes, no "nukes"
Indonesia	105	8	.4	n. a.	12 warships	450 planes, no "nukes"
All other Asian nations*		45	1.9	58	94 warships	1,120 planes, no long-range missiles, no "nukes"

*Australia, Burma, Cambodia, Laos, Malaysia, Nationalist China, New Zealand, Philippines, South Korea, South Vietnam, Thailand.

[continued from page 48]

tempted friendship with the Communist Chinese. It took one armed attack by China and the threat of another to disabuse the Indians of this view. Yet India still is torn by internal divisions and is slow to take up rearmament. And India has no real industrial base for building a modern military force.

Indonesia might help someday to bring stability to part of Asia. But even then, its manpower and arms potential are limited.

Nowhere in non-Communist Asia, in fact, is there a nation with modern missiles, a modern air force, an up-to-date navy, or an arms industry of any real

consequence, able to face the dominant power of Red China.

Restraint on Red China. This leaves America, with the great military power it can project to danger areas of Asia, as the one force able to keep the Communist Chinese in hand.

Now in that part of the world, holding the balance of power, is a well-equipped U. S. ground force of 550,000 men, the U. S. Seventh Fleet with its 440 major ships, including Polaris submarines armed with nuclear missiles, and a total of 5,400 modern U. S. planes having a nuclear capability on bases in and around Asia.

To understand better America's present role in both Europe and Asia, take a brief look at the world's power balance in the not-too-distant past.

Through a long period of the nineteenth century and until World War I, Britain policed the world with its navy. To keep the peace, the British threw the weight of their fleet to one side or the other and usually succeeded in preventing any one bloc from dominating.

During this period, Europe remained largely at peace and empires centered

in Europe dominated much of the world. The U. S. did its best to remain isolated at home. In Asia, Japan was a rising power, ambitious and expansionist.

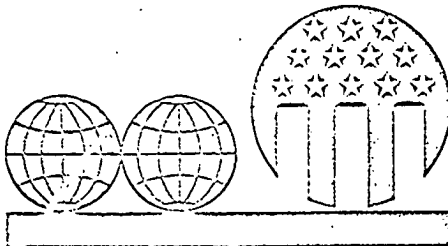
World War II upset that world balance. Japan challenged the U. S. and was removed as a major power in Asia. Europe went down in flames. Russia and Red China emerged from the wreckage of war both as expansionist nations.

Britain, the world's No. 1 policeman, went down with the coming of the missile and air age, not able to provide the power base needed in the modern age. Now Britain is planning to pull out of the Middle East, out of the Indian Ocean, out of its old role almost entirely.

With the dominant powers in Europe and Asia both committed to aggression, only the U. S. is left in the position once occupied by Britain—as the one nation able to keep some kind of order in the world by a show of force.

This is the conclusion pointed to by facts in the Pictograms on these pages. They add up to a prospect that Americans will carry a heavy defensive load for both sides of the world for as far ahead as planners can see.

Copyright © 1966, U. S. News & World Report, Inc.



IT IS THE MIGHTY U. S. THAT HOLDS THE KEY TO THE BALANCE OF POWER— WHERE AMERICA THROWS ITS WEIGHT, THE POWER BALANCE TIPS

	PEOPLE (mil.)	TOTAL OUTPUT OF GOODS, SERVICES (\$ bil.)	MEN UNDER ARMS (mil.)	COMBAT DIVISIONS	NAVAL STRENGTH	AIR POWER AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS (unofficial estimates)
United States	195	676	2.9	17	865 warships 103 submarines	14,400 planes, 1,350 long-range missiles, 40 to 50,000 nuclear weapons
Soviet bloc	333	375	4.2	203	240 warships	14,500 planes, 270 long-range missiles, a nuclear stockpile about one tenth that of U. S.
Red China	730	70	2.5	115	2 warships 28 submarines	2,300 planes, no long-range missiles, fewer than a dozen atomic warheads

The U. S. has more strategic missiles, nuclear weapons, missile-firing submarines, heavy bombers, aircraft carriers, long-range transport planes and helicopters than all the rest of the world combined. American land armies, though small by comparison with those of Russia and China, have greater mobility and firepower per division. Back-

ing these military forces in the field are a huge military reserve, and the world's greatest industrial establishment. It is America's ability to place vast armed forces thousands of miles beyond its own shores that makes the U. S. the key to the world balance of power.

Basic Data: Institute for Strategic Studies, U. S. Dept. of Defense

